2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

439 The buffalo robe is the principal, and indeed, so far as I know, their only article of commerce—their only source of wealth. At a certain season every year they are transported to the confines of Mexico, and sold to parties of Mexican traders who annually meet them there, and receive in compensation hatchets, knives, and such other implements as are used by them, together with cheap calicoes, mescal, and a great variety of trinkets.

291 It has previously been stated that the men dress in buckskin. The women do likewise, to a great extent, but most of them wear a sort of short gown made of the calico thus obtained. Children, until they arrive at the age of eight or nine, do not take the trouble to dress in anything.

515 In their personal habits they are supremely nasty. Occasionally, in warm weather, they bathe in the river, but daily ablutions are not thought of, so that they are constantly covered with dirt and vermin.

582 The institution of marriage is recognized, and governed by established laws. When a young man becomes enamored and resolves to take a wife, he presents himself before the council and makes known his desire. If there are no objections on the part of the maiden or her parents, the council decrees that they may live together in the matrimonial relation one moon. If, at the end of that time, there has arisen no dissension between them, and they are mutually satisfied, they are permitted to continue the relation another moon, and if they live together harmoniously through that, the knot is irrevocably tied. The system of matrimony among them, therefore, seems to be founded on the principle of the rule of three.

764 Equally peculiar is their mode of burial. When a warrior dies, his body is carried out and laid upon the ground, his head always toward the west. A pen is then built up around

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

the crow, the kingfisher, the prairie hen, and the eagle, so dyed by his ingenious wives as to reflect all the colors of the rainbow. Of all the horses that grazed the wide pastures round about his camp, he was mounted upon the most fleet and spirited—the weapons of war in which he was accoutred were a knife thrust through his belt, a hatchet suspended from the pommel of his saddle, and a Mexican rifle, rare among his tribe, upon the possession of which he prided himself exceedingly.

I bestrode the same old mule that had so often and so far borne me on her back, with nothing hanging from my saddlebow but a huge buffalo horn wherewith to furnish my doughty master with cool draughts from the streams as we journeyed on the way. Saluting the Sleek Otter, who little thought it was the last nod she would ever receive from her long-haired spouse—for, not having seen a razor for three years, I was very far from being "the man all shaven and shorn, who married the maiden all forlorn"—we trotted away from the village, myself in advance, neither of us destined ever to return.

From early morning we traveled leisurely but steadily, and at sunset entered a valley wherein resided a small tribe whose chief was *Nis-ti-u-na*, the Wild Horse. The usual hospitalities were extended—or rather on this occasion they were unusual—inasmuch as a party had just returned from a meeting with the traders, bringing with them a quantity of mescal, a kind of whisky distilled from the fruit of a tree, commonly known in Mexico as the cabbage tree.

An Indian's dignity, whether chief or subject, never rises to that elevated degree which prevents his getting drunk every opportunity that offers, and consequently it followed, as a matter of course, that so distinguished a visitor as the Rolling Thunder, arrived at that peculiar juncture, could

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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ooo still remain among the Indians. My own observation, together with the knowledge obtained from the chiefs and warriors of the tribes to which I was so long attached, places the matter beyond dispute, that a large number of white prisoners, principally women, are held by them.

Their situation, above all others, is eminently one deserving the consideration of humane and philanthropic persons. The barbarity and degradation to which they are doomed, render them, truly, especial objects of pity and compassion, and whoever engages to accomplish their deliverance will enter on a work of Christian charity.

If the proper effort were made in the right direction, beyond question, many of them could be rescued. It would not require an armed invasion of the Indian territory; such an invasion, however salutary it might prove in other respects, would in all probability result disastrously to the captive. There is a peaceful and far more economical mode by which their liberation can be effected, and this is through the instrumentality of the traders.

These compose a privileged class among the savages; are protected rather than injured by them. They are relied upon for their annual supply of knives, hatchets, calico, and trinkets. Arrangements could therefore be made with the traders to purchase the white men and women belonging to the several tribes with which they have intercourse—purchases easily to be negotiated if supplied with the necessary means. In most instances they are without friends, the survivors of emigrant families, attacked and overcome while journeying to the distant West. Bearing always in remembrance the awful scenes of agony and torture it has been my lot to witness, I can never cease to plead with my countrymen to interest themselves in behalf of those who are still in

2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
NO6 Comanche NO6

bonds, and subject to the same cruelties; ready, myself, 727
though prematurely old, to devote the remainder of my 439
days, without reward, to the accomplishment of their
ransom.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

not ride a single one, but had to travel sitting on a travois. In comparison, the entire Pawnee tribe had 1,400, the Osage 1,200, and the Omaha 1,200. The greater the distance from Texas and Mexico, the fewer the horses found.

The number of horses possessed by the South Plains Indians decreased rapidly in the last half of the nineteenth century. The Antelope band surrendered only 1,500 head to the United States at the time of their capitulation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, on June 2, 1875.[11] The Comanche, Kiowa, Apache, and Delaware tribes had 14,810 head in 1874, but three years later they possessed only 4,194. Subsequent to just one engagement, on the morning of September 28, 1874, the day after he had destroyed the Comanche-Kiowa-Cheyenne camp in Palo Duro Canyon, Colonel MacKenzie's troop shot and killed some 1,400 Indian horses.[12] Such attrition devastated the great herds.

The Comanches obtained their supply of horses by gift and trade, by breeding, by capturing wild ones, and by raiding.

It was considered a gracious gesture to give a favorite horse to a friend. And although it was general practice to kill a warrior's personal riding string on his grave, many a man before his death willed his favorite horse to his best friend. Even the poorest had at least one horse, for the public approved the rich man who celebrated an important occasion by giving a horse to some poor old fellow who could not rustle one for himself.

In intertribal trading the Comanches exchanged horses for goods, but by 1850 they had so many horses themselves that they never bothered to trade for them. In the great peace-making in 1840 between the Cheyennes on the one side and the Comanches, Kiowas, and Kiowa-Apaches on the other, the Cheyennes gave guns, blankets, calico, beads, and brass kettles, while the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches offered horses. Mountain, the Kiowa spokesman, had said, "We all of us have many horses; as many as we need; we do not wish to accept any horses as presents, but we shall be glad to accept any other gifts. We, the Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches, have made a road to give many horses to you when we come here." They were as good as his word; every Cheyenne man, woman, and child

[11] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1875, 273.
[12] Nye, *Carbine and Lance*, 223.

The Comanches

like wild onions, radishes, and Jerusalem artichoke were also exploited—nor was the bulb of the sego lily overlooked.

A truly favorite sweet dish for the Comanche was a mush made of buffalo marrow mixed with crushed mesquite beans, which are very high in sugar content.

Dried pumpkins, pumpkin seeds, and corn were obtained in trade from the Kiowas, Wichitas, and other tribes to the east. Corn was not really used very much, although the Comanches did like to make a drink of boiled corn meal sweetened with mesquite. If they had let this concoction ferment, as did the Gila River tribes of Arizona, they could have had an alcoholic mead, but the Comanches did not know how to brew beer or ferment wines from their grapes.

Tobacco was obtained in trade with the Mexicans and not grown at all.

Honey added flavor to the Comanche diet. So highly in favor was it that one band received the name *Penatɜkə* or Honey-eaters. The honey bee seems to have been abundant along the Cross Timbers of the eastern Comanchería. Honey was bagged in skin containers and could be kept indefinitely.

The original K-ration was pemmican, beloved of the Comanches and many other tribes of Indians. Wild berries, cherries, or plums, pounded well and partially dried in the sun, or walnuts, piñons, or pecans gave flavor to the dried meat, which was pounded thoroughly, softened over a fire, and then mixed with the pounded fruit or nuts. Tallow and marrow fat were added, and the mixture was stored either in parfleche bags (*ɔyɔ:t*), in large intestines which probably had been no more than partially cleaned, or in paunches. Before the container was firmly tied, melted tallow was sometimes poured over the whole to make it air tight. In either container, the pemmican with proper care would keep for years. It was greatly prized by the whites, particularly when sliced and dipped in honey. They called it "Indian bread," for since the Comanches had no bread, this was the nearest substitute. Children went about eating it as American children eat candy. When other foods were available, dried meat and pemmican were saved for times of food scarcity.

It was generally believed by the whites that the Comanches had no regular times for meals, that they ate at all hours of the day or

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

one of the surest forms of insurance against ill fortune, for where one had given he could legitimately expect a return. 727

In theory the leader could retain as much of the loot for himself as he wished.[23] Actually, leaders rarely kept more than a small share for themselves and often gave all the loot to their followers. Success in war, with its attendant spoils, was believed to be due to the leader's medicine, that is, his supernatural powers. Such power came and went capriciously, and its presence was revealed to a man by a subjective reaction which he could immediately recognize. If the leader kept the bulk of the spoils, that act was tantamount to a confession that he felt his power was waning. He was keeping what he could, because he knew that he might not be able to get more. The selfish leader was likely to lose prestige and have difficulty in recruiting his next war party. If he gave freely, it showed that he knew his medicine was strong. It is said that Quanah Parker, the last great Comanche chief, was not always liberal toward his followers; he frequently made favorites of his relatives and took the best horses for himself. Some of the warriors refused to go on raids with him for this reason.[24] If a man on a raid was killed before the spoils were divided, his heirs were not included in the division, but if he had personally taken any horses singlehanded, they were supposed to be turned over to his family.

About the time of the Civil War, when the cattlemen were pushing westward beyond the line of settlements across Texas into the Comanche country, Texas cattle became an important article of plunder. Stolen cattle were exchanged for goods with the *Comancheros*, or traders from New Mexico. Cattle constituted a commodity easily procured and transported, and they could be obtained in almost unlimited numbers. The Comanches felt that if only the raiders could succeed in driving off enough of the intruders' cattle, it would discourage further encroachment into their country. There were regular meeting places where traders with their cart-loads of commodities met the Comanches to trade for horses and cattle. So abundant was the trade that it was reported in 1867 that the territory of New Mexico was "filled with Texas cattle."[25] In exhange for these cattle the Co- 727 439

[24] Informants: Post Oak Jim; Whitewolf.

[25] A. B. Norton (superintendent Indian Affairs, New Mexico) to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, August 24, 1867, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1867, 194–95.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

727 manches received ammunition, knives, calico, coffee, arrow points,
439 tobacco, whiskey, and gewgaws. An idea of the enormous extent of this trade may be gained from the fact that in 1867 Charles Goodnight found six hundred head of his cattle, which had been stolen sometime before from his range near old Fort Belknap, on Gallinas Creek in New Mexico. He was firmly convinced that at least three hundred thousand head of Texas cattle had been stolen and sold or traded to New Mexicans during the Civil War. A later and more conservative estimate by another Texas ranchman set the loss for the two decades preceding 1873 at one hundred thousand head.[26] Most of these cattle were driven to New Mexcio by the Comanches and their Kiowa allies. The most active band of Comanches engaged in plundering cattle was the Antelope of the *Llano Estacado*.

727 If a returning war or raiding party had been unsuccessful, it was customary to bury those who died on the road. They laid the deceased in a crevice or shallow grave and piled rocks over it to prevent the corpse's being disturbed by predatory animals. The warriors separated upon approaching the main camp and, with their faces painted black and the tails of their horses shaved, dropped into it one by one quietly and without fanfare. If several warriors had been lost, the entire camp broke forth in a pandemonium of wailing; recent captives were in danger of being abused, tortured, or slain; violence and frenzy reigned supreme. The female relatives of slain Indians were expected to evidence their grief by shrill lamentations and self-torture, continuing the demonstrations for weeks, months, and even years. They cut their legs and arms and cut off finger tips and hair, painted their faces black, and piled ashes on their heads. Usually they tore down the tipis of the dead warriors and destroyed or gave away their property. "A war leader will always comfort the survivors of a casualty on his party," said Post Oak Jim, "and will sometimes give them a horse or other gift."

A successful returning party timed its arrival so as to enter the village during the morning hours; they halted on an elevation a short distance from the village and sent a messenger ahead to inform the

[26] J. E. Haley, *The XIT Ranch of Texas*, 26; C. C. Rister, *The Southwestern Frontier*, 82, n.73.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

824 278 757 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*) were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply [752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 411 439 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825 752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsɔɔβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered [776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
NO6 Comanche NO6

They manufacture it into bows, which become articles of commerce, and are sometimes exchanged for peltries, etc. I knew a Sioux to give his horse for a single one; and among the upper tribes they frequently bring three or four beaver skins each. The tree is so highly valued, that they never destroy it, except when wanted for use, or in the territories of their enemies; in the latter case, they make its destruction as particular an object, as they do that of their game.

Since the Comanche were more or less in control of at least a part of the area in which the Osage orange grew they were doubtless in a position to profit through trading it to other tribes. The Tewa tribes of the Rio Grande valley specified the Comanche particularly as a source of their Osage orange bowwood (20, p. 68).

Marcy and McClellan (15, p. 98) describe the bows of the Comanche as being made of the tough and elastic wood of the Osage orange, "strengthened and reinforced with the sinews of the deer wrapped firmly around them." This brief and incomplete description suggests the sinew-backed bow which is classified by Mason (17, p. 638) as the "seized bow" and which had sinew "wrapped about" it, but Mason seems nowhere to describe this bow in detail, has no illustrations of it, and gives no distribution of it among American Indians. The description might also apply to the sinew-lined type of sinew-backed bow except that it does not mention the lining of sinew, often inconspicuous, which was usually bound on by transverse bands of sinew. The "Shoshonean or narrow" type of sinew-lined bow (17, pp. 638, 643, and Plates 61 and 79) may be indicated. This bow had its distribution among the Shoshonean tribes of the Great Basin and among the Apache, the Navajo, and the Pueblos, but, according to Mason, did not occur east of the Rocky Mountains (17, pp. 640, 643). Wissler (25, pp. 159–160), however, examined bows in the American Museum of Natural History from various Plains tribes and noted sinew-lined ones from some of the northern Plains tribes. He considered these intrusive from the sinew-backed bow area to the immediate west, supplementary to the self bow, and of exceptional occurrence. The Comanche bows which Wissler mentioned appear to have been of the simple, unbacked type. It does not seem likely that the Comanche bows mentioned by Marcy and McClellan were such, for Mason nowhere describes or illustrates self bows bound with sinew. Whether or not the bows seen by Marcy and McClellan were sinew-backed, and, if so, whether or not they were typical Comanche bows remain open questions. There is,

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they [181] are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders [439] who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on [771] earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any [776] idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a [789] storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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175 This dark picture of conflict is tempered
648 somewhat by the fact that the Comanche were admitted to the Taos fair in 1748 or 1749 and attended again in 1751[16]—the documents left by the military men and governors would tend to minimize these more peaceable events. In 1776, Anza, the governor of New Mexico, inaugurated a military campaign against the Comanche and sought them out in their own country northeast of New Mexico. In 1779 the Comanche received their first major defeat at Spanish hands near what is now Pueblo, [728] Colorado. Peace was soon established and, after a formal treaty was negotiated in 1786, relations with the Spanish became [439] more cordial. Comanche came to the Pueblo of Santa Fe and Pecos in great numbers, and Comanchéros,[17] as the traders from the New Mexican settlements were known, visited them frequently. Ugarte, Commander General of the Interior Provinces of New Spain from 1785 to 1790, suggested as a device to foster better relations that the children of Comanche chiefs be sent to Mexico City to learn the Spanish language and culture. Anza founded the village of San Carlos de los Jupes in 1787 on the Arkansas River in Colorado[18] in an abortive attempt to establish an agricultural colony of Comanche. Artisans built houses and farmers were sent to teach the Comanche to farm, but they would not become good Pueblo Indians and the project soon failed. Anza's governorship marked the most tranquil period of Comanche-Spanish relations, and after 1800 they deteriorated rapidly.

As early as 1724 a French explorer, [439] Bourgmont, had made contact with the Comanche in what is now Kansas. He observed that they had horses which they said

[113] [16] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico, p. 6 (Glendale, Calif., 1940).
[113] [17] J. E. Haley, The Comanchero Trade, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 38.157–76 (1935).
[113] [18] A. B. Thomas, San Carlos: A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787, Colorado Magazine, 6:79–91 (Denver, Colo., 1929).

[p. 143 A]

175 had been procured from the Spanish. Peace-
648 ful trading relations were begun by the
439 Mallet brothers in 1739,[10] and a lively trade in which hides, horses and captives were exchanged for guns, powder, balls, knives, glass beads, mirrors, vermilion, axes, chocolate, and the like, soon sprang up. The Wichita and other Louisiana tribes as well as French traders were active participants in this commerce and contributed agricultural products. It seems probable that the French,
175 in addition to supplying the Comanche with
648 firearms, also incited them to attack the
[721] Spanish. The Comanche had long acted as a buffer between the French from Louisiana to the northeast and the Spanish to the southwest. Indeed, Anza had hoped to establish them as guardians of the northern frontier in the event of French ambitions to southwest expansion.

648 Contacts with the newly founded United States began shortly after the Louisiana
[439] Purchase in 1803. That year James Pursely, the first American to penetrate the new territory, spent a season trading with the Kiowa and Comanche,[11] and the first filibusters and freebooters soon followed.
101 Catlin's visit[12] to the Comanche with Colonel Dodge's expedition in 1834 found them at the height of their power—an estimated 30,000 strong and ranging from the Mandan villages in Dakota to the Rio
439 Grande and beyond. The earliest trading-
648 posts were established in 1834 and 1837 after Dodge's expedition had proven the friendly disposition of the Plains tribes. The first treaty between the United States and the Comanche and their allied tribes was negotiated in 1835. In 1846 the United States government agreed to provide for the establishment of trading houses and

[10] A. B. Thomas, The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Glendale, Calif., 1940).

[11] James Mooney, Calendar History of the Kiowa Indians, 17th Annual Report, BAE p. 171 (Washington, D. C., 1898).

[113] [12] George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North America Indians, 2 vols., (London, England, 1841).

[p. 143-B]

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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agencies along the frontier, and to furnish blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[22]

> 21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7½ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

Due both to impoverishment caused by the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to the pressure of White settlers, the Comanche became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterised the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[22] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 136 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

[p. 144-A]

Comanche attacks against the New Mexican settlements continued, but at the same time the Indians were developing a new interest in trade. Their activities on the plains had netted them considerable surplus wealth in hides, jerked meat, Apache and Pawnee slaves, and horses. 175 439 [721]

The logical outlets for these were the trading fairs held annually in the pueblos of Taos and Pecos. The fairs occurred in September when the farming Indians had the fruits of their fields to offer for barter, and making the events even more attractive were the growing numbers of Spanish goods which were finding their way into the market place. The Comanches thus found it convenient to suspend hostilities for the weeks that the trading was in progress and to enter the pueblos under a flag of truce. Such an arrangement was acceptable to the Spaniards since they looked upon the fairs as providing a useful opportunity to try to convince their enemy to accept a year around peace. 175 439 728 648

The friendly but brief contacts which the Comanches had with the New Mexicans at the fairs in no way, however, deterred them from undertaking raids against the settlements at other seasons of the year. These became particularly devastating in the decades following 1750, as the Comanches extended the range of their attacks into the central and southern portions of the province. By mid-century the Comanches had broken the alliance with their old friends the Utes and in pushing that tribe back into the mountains, they became for the time being the dominant people on the southern Plains. 175 721 648

The Comanche threat to New Mexico became tru- [727]

175
648 clothes and gifts and offered to send workers to con-
[431] struct their houses if they would return for them in the spring. I denied them their fourth request.

175 Also, they asked that some should come at the first
648 of next [year] to barter for the small number of hides
439 which they had. In so far as it shall be convenient I
[643] offered to let a few [people] go and carry on trade. On giving the staff of office (*bastón*) to the [Comanche] general, I had him give his word that they would come every year to trade and I promised him justice in the exchange of [their] goods for [those of our] goods which were desired, saying that this was
175 a good way to avoid unpleasantness. With all of this
648 they went away quite content, including the women and others who had accompanied them.

These Comanches were commanded for a long time by an Indian who was very loyal to this Province and who was known as Malla (Iron Jacket). All of the above I call to the attention of Your Excellency, hoping that it merits your approval.

May God keep you. Santa Fe, 20 of November of 1805.

J. R. A. [to the] Commandant General of the Internal Provinces

172 metal materials found near the feet of the skeleton leave no doubt that a saddle had been placed in the grave. One stirrup (Fig. 5*a*) is a heart-shaped side-saddle stirrup; the other (Fig. 5*b*) is of a form common to western style saddles; both are iron. Both stirrups have identical roller buckles, 35 mm by 44 mm., of the form frequently seen on horse trappings. Completing the inventory of saddle parts and decorations are two iron rings 59 mm. in diameter, a round buckle and cinch ring both 91 mm. in diameter, 13 small iron nails, two copper rivets with leather preserved in them (Fig. 5*d*), two iron snaps or buttons, and one copper button face or rosette (Fig. 5*c*). Identical rivets were found at the White site (Suhm 1962:109 and Fig. 6). Rosettes or button faces of similar size and construction were found in the crevice burial of an adult male in Yellowhouse Canyon, Lubbock County, Texas (Newcomb 1955, Plate 25), that included a bridle and saddle bags, and at Fielder Canyon Cave in Val Verde County, Texas (Kirkland 1942:64-5 and Plate 15). Kirkland reported a quantity of trade artifacts strewn in front of the small cave and interpreted the site as a "garment factory." It seems apparent, however, that the site was actually an historic Indian burial that had been looted, which left the artifacts scattered

172 172 171

172 The remains of the saddle leave two possibilities as to its nature: either the saddle was a single rig western style saddle that had one of the stirrups replaced with a side-saddle stirrup, or it was a native-made saddle that incorporated a number of pieces of white man's hardware. The matched items of hardware -- stirrup buckles, cinch ring and buckle, rings, and the rivets -- seem indicative of a white-made western saddle. Examination of the collections of 19th century Indian photographs at the U. S. Army (Fort Sill) Museum and of the standard sets of Smithsonian Institution prints of Southern Plains tribes showed that almost all saddles pictured were military or western stock types. Of course, the Indians of the area continued to make and use their own saddles during the late-19th century; for example, it is known that in 1868 a Comanche saddle and in 1891 an unspecified number of Kiowa saddles were collected for the National Museum (Ewers 1955:90). During that period, however, Plains Indians often obtained as many saddle parts as they could from the whites (Ewers 1955:94n).

[127] [439]

(E) Two iron straps 219 mm. and 194 mm.

[p. 321-B]

18: Jackson A-4,5 (1969) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

fore Fort Sill was founded in 1869. In fact Catlin, along with Dodge and a regiment of U. S. Dragoons, visited one of their large camps just a few miles from the Jared site in 1834 (Catlin 1841:61ff.). From these explorers and others who passed through their territory, and from their own trading and raiding expeditions, the Comanches received articles of white manufacture.

Fort Sill was established as a base of operations for subduing the Southern Plains Indians, and the U. S. Army made efforts to induce the Indians to settle permanently near the post. This program was achieved in part by giving food, clothing, and supplies to the Indians. By 1875 the Comanches were settled in the area and roamed no more except for a few small raids that continued until 1878.

The first Comanche cemetery was not established until 1889 or 1890 at Fort Sill (Gillett Griswold, personal communication), and with the exception of the post's cemetery where a few Indian Scouts were buried, and several mission cemeteries, this was the first established Comanche burial ground. Other Comanche cemeteries were opened shortly thereafter, and most burials were made in cemeteries after the early 1890's.

The literary and historic records help substantiate the identification of the Jared site as a Comanche burial probably dating after 1869 and before 1890 with the vague possibility of its being a Cheyenne burial. Kiowa and Comanche informants support this conclusion. No other groups in the area have been reported to have buried their dead in the manner noted at the Jared site.

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[p.324-B]

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

exception, however, to the general resemblance.—The Yamparacks are more honest and punctilious in their dealings, and much less addicted to thievery. This may be accounted for, by the fewness of their opportunities of trade; the commercial intercourse between the Indians and whites, has invariably had a demoralizing influence on the untutored Savages.

The Yamparacks can probably furnish from 7 to 800 warriors. These frequently unite with the Comanchees, and participate largely in their depredations on the provincial Spaniards.

Of the Tenaways my information is less minute and authentic, they being seldom visited in their distinct villages, by Americans. But they sometimes descend by families, or small parties, to the Comanchee range, to solicit the charity of their brethren who are more contiguous to our settlements, and are constantly supplied with a profusion of such articles as their fancies or necessities require, and who are extremely liberal to their less favored and often destitute kindred. From the representations of the Comanchees and some of their own chiefs, I conclude their numerical strength does not vary much from that of the Yamparacks. This would place the entire aggregate force of the three tribes at about 3000 warriors, which I presume is a probable computation.

The Tenaways range through a mountainous district that separates the waters of the Rio del Norte, from the rivers of Texas, and they sometimes extend their perambulations to the head waters of the Red River of Natchitoches. They carry on a small traffic with the Spaniards of Santa Fee, from whom they receive blankets, knives and tobacco, in exchange for the mules and horses which they capture from the Spaniards of the adjacent Provinces. They often mingle with the Yamparacks when traversing the southern extreme of their range. The utmost harmony subsists between these several bands. They have no distinct limits assigned them, neither does one party claim, in relation to another, any exclusive sovereignty over the particular see-

175 [ca-1818]
262 imagine, these beef chips are neither very palatable nor alimental after this operation; but they are still meat, and
175 meat is always desirable to a carniverous savage. The bene-
317 ficient author of nature has given them an inexhaustible supply of salt. They procure this excellent fossil from a saline near the sources of the Rio Brazos, where it is indurated by natural evaporation, into masses of different dimensions. When pulverized, it is of a beautiful whiteness, not
175 inferior to our best table salt. But owing to their roving
263 habits, the Indians are frequently destitute of this healthful and savoury ingredient in animal food, and eat their meat for months together without seasoning of any kind. They do not consider this privation as a very serious matter.

175 They make a kind of bread of the pods of the locust
262 tree, which grows abundantly throughout their range. These pods possess a small portion of sacchrine matter which renders the meal cohesive and gives it an agreeable though somewhat insipid taste; but in substance it is about as edible as saw-dust, which it resembles in appearance. The Peccan tree grows luxuriantly on all their water courses, and the delightful nut it affords, together with black and red hawes, prickly-pear apples, and some other spontaneous fruits, and a few excellent roots, eke out the scanty subsistence of these people, during the absence of their favorite Buffaloes.

175 Some of the lower or southern villages make an annual
22 visit to the Whacoes (a small tribe located on the Brazos)
[439] and traffic horses for beans, melons, and corn. But owing to
[261] their frequent migrations, they are not able to transport a permanent stock of these articles; and very soon after returning from the corn feast of their more provident neighbours, they relapse into their habitual alternations of feast or famine.

175 But Providence seems to have provided them with some
165 natural indemnities against the physical evils that might be supposed incidental to their irregular and versatile manner
[164] of life. Notwithstanding their frequent and painful privations, they are subject to few diseases, and exhibit many instances of remarkable longevity. Men, whose furrowed

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves. 000

SECOND: What Reciprocal Trade Has One Village With Another? 175 438 439

The commerce and trade that one village has with others is that the Eastern Comanche transport the horses which they acquire in their wars and robberies to the villages of the Western Comanche, that are known by the name *Yumbarioas* [*Yamparikas*], who are the ones that sell or barter rifles, powder, shot, lances, cloth, pottery, and knives which they acquire from the *Canse, Quita, Quirate and Aguaés*; these are also intermediaries in the commerce of buffalo hides, with and without hair, which they work and dress very well.

THIRD: What Strength Has Each One? 175

With respect to the strength of each settlement it is not possible to ascertain the number of people that compose them, nor of those of the other villages because they are accustomed to subdivide according to the way they accommodate themselves to the terrain in which they exist and the bounty of the hunt of the buffalo, on which they maintain themselves. Because of the shortage of firearms, they keep their strength gathered with the caution with which they always live; they never situate themselves in a place that will be very uncomfortable, but in which they will be able to be sheltered from their enemies, always having little [scouting] parties circling to observe whether or not they are being attacked. They have the system of wandering from one place to another without maintaining themselves in a fixed locale, and in such manner they plant no crops. They maintain themselves only from the flesh of buffalo and deer, and some roots like sweet potatoes that are abundant in the territory in which they travel. 621 224 175 721 621 175 221 [241] [262]

FOURTH: What Territory Do They Ordinarily Occupy? 175

The Rancherias of the Eastern [Comanche] Indians are 131 [133]

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]

175 customarily situated across the river that some call the
131 *Colorado* (Red) and others the *Rio de la Empalizada* which
133 flows to Natchitoches in order to empty into the Mississippi;
from their settlements [on the Red River] they move about
to the headwaters of the Brazos de Dios, which are one hun-
dred leagues apart from one another; in this interval they
are accustomed to make their residence at a place they call
175 the *Gran Salina* [Large Salt]. There they provide them-
439 selves with this commodity in order to barter with the
317 *Taboayazes* [*Taovayas*] and *Guachitas* [*Wichitas*] who,
because they lack salt, esteem it very much.

175 FIFTH: What Are the Names of the Captains That
622 Govern Them?

624 The names of the captains that I have been able to acquire
[643] notice of are in the First Class, El Cota de Maya, or Camisa
de Fierro[1]; the second, Cabeza Rapada. Those of the Sec-
ond Class are El Lobito, El Sorrillo, Guiracaraco, El Gua-
guanguas, La Boca Partida, El Español, El Surdo, and
El Manco. I have not been able to inquire the names of the
other three or four who are of the second class.

SIXTH. What Distinguished Those in Authority?

[643] The chiefs with the most authority and following known
among the Eastern Comanche Indians are in the first class,
el Camisa de Fierro, or Cota de Maya, and in the second,
la Cabeza Rapada, there being ten or twelve that are
between those of the second class and subject to the two
aforesaid [first class chiefs].

175 SEVENTH: How Did They Gain Their Authority, by
643 Election or by Inheritance?

623 The command and superiority established by the two
555

[113] 1. For further details about Cota de Maya (Coat of Mail), also called
[551] Ecueracapa (Leather Cape), whose Comanche name was Contatanacapara,
see Alfred B. Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, 1932), 295-325.

24: Richardson H-4 (no date) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6
(1854-1859) Texas

657 643 that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and 643 savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion 178 had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organiza- 619 tion. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not 657 been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially 578 to the many difficulties the United States was destined to en- 181 counter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civil- 178 ization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no [657] longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commis- sion corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

657 When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to es- [162] tablish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the 657 reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But not- 648 withstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a 648 blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief 439 Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were 648 making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

[113] 4. R. B. Marcy. Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

[113] 5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

[113] 6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 342.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

actly how a store should be run proved a decided advantage for dad. His problems were different from those facing the owner of a country store in a Kansas farming community. He had to supply the wants of people from many entirely different communities. In addition, I don't recall that we even considered that we might have Indian customers as well as white; yet we accumulated an Indian business that for probably three years actually overshadowed our white homesteader trade.

An example of the diversity of tastes, though an extreme one, is tobacco. My guess at this time is that at least eight out of ten men chewed, and many both chewed and smoked. There were five popular brands of chewing tobacco, led by Star and Horseshoe. We also carried at least ten lesser brands. Our sales of chewing tobacco, in due time, were well over one hundred pounds a week. Because we tried to satisfy everyone's taste, many people gave us their business in preference to trading at a store that carried only two or three brands, expecting their customers to take what they could get.

Duke's Mixture and Bull Durham took care of most of the cigarette smokers' needs, and about four other brands took care of the rest of the smokers. The ladies' snuff wants were not so diversified. Honest, Garrett's, and Tube Rose, each in five, ten, and twenty-five cent sizes, cared for their needs.

For the first year or so, as there was no drugstore closer than Lawton, a stock of standard drugs was a must. Generally speaking, Indian country is malaria country. Though the Indian had built up a resistance or immunity to the disease, his mosquito friends played havoc with white people coming from a nonmalarial area.

Calomel, quinine, castor oil, Grove's Chill Tonic, Black Draught, and Epsom salts were musts. Castoria and Chamberlain's were mostly for the little folks. Then of course there was need of spirits and oil of turpentine for antiseptics, camphor and oil of cloves for aching teeth, and Sloan's liniment for those who developed rheumatism. Sick horses had to have spirits of niter.

Regardless of where people came from, they could bring but little food along. Few arrived in time to get out a garden the first year, and of course there were no orchards. They could make their old clothes last over, but they had to buy food. There were lots of cattle in the country, but no butcher shops. Because there was no ice, we could get fresh meat during warm weather only when someone would butcher his animals in the hope that he could sell the meat before it spoiled.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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000 driven east to the Nations and easily had at least a thirty-six hour start on any pursuit.

Caring for the store's money was a disturbing chore. It was nearly two years before we were able to get a safe, and yet another year before we had a local bank. About the time we got our store started, Dad bought the relinquishment on an improved claim. It was about a mile and a half from the store to the house on the claim. The homesteader was returning to Texas by wagon, so he sold us his furniture as well. When we began living on the claim, it meant carrying the money back and forth.

As it was always dark, winter or summer, before we could close the store, we worked various and sundry schemes to get the money back and forth. It was my job to hitch up the team, as well as to carry the silver. We could easily have two to three hundred dollars in silver if the freight wagons had been held up a day or two.

After I had tied the team out front, I would continue working around the store, including making necessary trips out to the tent warehouse in the rear. Finally I would stroll out into the darkness and not come back. I would have the coin sacks, my shotgun, and my bird dog. I tried to go a little different route each night; and before I approached the house I would send the dog ahead to inspect the house and barn to see if we had any company.

Mother handled the paper money and checks. She had a brownish tan wallet like the ones men carried in their inside coat pockets in those days. It was about the color of mesquite grass, and she had several feet of black thread fastened to it. She planned, if anyone stopped her, to throw the wallet out into the prairie. The thread would help us find it the next morning.

439 177 443 Our Indian business just seemed to happen. At least we had made no conscious effort to attract it. In fact, Dad and Mother never made any effort to learn the Comanche language. We were surprised to learn later that many merchants made it a practice to boost the price if an Indian was buying. I am sure that idea never occurred to any of [497] us. We were later to find that the missionaries had been checking our prices and bookkeeping and had passed the word on to the Indians that we had one price for all.

We had no family history of past trouble with Indians; so when an Indian came in the store we accorded him the same degree of courtesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded.

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About the time we were wondering what we would do with ourselves during the long day in front of us, the Indians began to arrive in their little canvas-covered wagons.

The first two or three dozen wagons used up all the hitchracks in the little town. By noon there must have been 150 of the little miniature prairie schooners parked around the group of buildings that was our town. When the hitchracks were filled, the later arrivals pulled up out on the grass, unhitched, and tied the horses to the rear wheels of the wagons.

These were not our Indians. These were Comanches from the west and north, along the south side of the Wichita Mountains. All of them were in at least the second day of their journey. They were on their way to an ancient tribal gathering place, across the Red River in Texas. Bands of Comanches had been using this gathering place since before there were white men in North Texas.

Apparently they had arranged to rendezvous at our little settlement, the last trading place on their trail, and make the rest of their journey together. In a little over two miles they would enter the Pasture Reserve, and it would be two more days' journey to the river. The ancient gathering place was on land controlled by the Burnett Ranch. The Burnetts, who had a history of getting along with the Comanches, encouraged the Indians to continue gathering there for their tribal powwows.

Just as there had been a shortage of hitchracks, soon there was a shortage of floor space in the store. For hours the only unoccupied floor was behind the counters. Of course the focal point for everyone—men, squaws, and children—was the stove. After slightly more than sixty years, I still have no desire to describe the scent of all those damp bodies crowded together, mingled with the steam rising from the clothing of those fortunate enough to get within the radius of the stove's heat.

I never knew when our Indians, that is to say the Indians living in our trade territory, joined these strange Comanches. They may even have started the day before. During the several hours these Indians were in town, I saw but an occasional face I had seen before. They were laying in a food supply to last during the time of their gathering, and as a result, by the time we had their wants appeased, our staple groceries were exhausted.

Owing to the inclement weather, they likewise stripped us of

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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bedding, underwear, socks and stockings, etc. If there had been six more clerks, we could have used them all. Somewhere near the middle of this selling-buying nightmare, I was aware of a large, tall Indian crowding in front of the Indian I was waiting on. He was taller than anyone else in the store, including myself, though I was approaching six feet. With his large black Stetson hat, well-fitted blue serge suit, blue flannel shirt, and obviously bench-made, high-heeled cowboy boots, he was dressed like a prosperous cattleman.

His copper color and the large braid hanging down on either side of his face onto his chest proclaimed him an Indian—not only an Indian, but obviously one of the Old Fellows. This was my private designation of the Indians old enough to have ridden the war trails. They had to be in their very late forties and upward. None of this group had been to school, nor would they have spoken English if they had known how.

This well-dressed Indian now surprised me by asking in perfect English, "How much do you want for that stove?"

This was the first time we had had a fire in the stove; but the fact that it was the only heating stove we had, plus the dozens of people—men, squaws, children—who had been crowding around it for hours, and were still crowding around it, and then the fact that I was just entered into my fifteenth year, all combined to hit my funny bone. I laughed as I answered him, "It couldn't be worth much of anything. It is just an old stove that came with our claim. But it is the only stove we have to keep the storeroom warm. We couldn't sell it."

With an air I am sure he considered superior, but which bordered more on the arrogant, the way he had been arrogant in crowding in front of the Indian I had been waiting on instead of awaiting his turn, he thrust his hand into his trousers pocket, brought out a wad of bills, and began looking through them.

As he was running through the bills, he continued talking: "You have this good house to live in. My women and children will live in a tent now. They need this stove. You don't. Here, I'll give you $20 for the stove." And he waved a twenty-dollar gold certificate at me.

Realizing how much in earnest this Indian was about the stove, I shook my head, saying, "The stove is not worth anywhere near such a sum. But we need it ourselves. We have a hardware store here now. Have you tried there?"

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He continued to wave the bill at me as he answered, "Of course. I went there the first thing, when I got to town."

I needed to get rid of this Indian and get back to those that were buying supplies. Only when I had all their wants satisfied would I be able to feed my stomach, which was complaining at the way it was being treated. I tried another way to get rid of him by saying, "The stove is not mine to sell or not sell. It belongs to my father. He is up front on the dry goods side. The bald-headed man. Go talk to him."

Tall as I was, I could watch him make his way to where Dad was selling cotton hose to some young Indian women. I could see he was using the same arrogant tactics he had used on me. He pushed himself in front of the women, holding the bill level with Dad's face. From the quizzical look Dad was wearing, it was taking him a while to realize the drift of what the tall Indian had in mind. When he understood, he frowned, shook his head, and turned back to his stocking customers.

The Indian made his way to the door and left the store.

Searching for a familiar face, I spied the auburn Vandyke of the little preacher from the Dea Mission on Blue Beaver, back to the north and east. He was standing a few bodies away from me. When I was able to make my way to him I asked, "Who was that tall well-dressed Indian that was trying to buy our stove?"

I never knew whether it was disappointment, dismay, or awe as he answered with both caps and quotes in his voice, "You don't know? That was Quanah Parker, the great War Chief of the Comanches."

It took the passage of several years to bring me enough maturity to realize that this was possibly the first request a white man had refused Quanah Parker in many years. It is entirely probable that as little as eighteen months previous to that time, and before this land had been opened for white settlement, had Quanah Parker asked a white trader to sell him his stove, the trader would have drawn the fire, carried the stove out-of-doors, cleaned it of ashes, loaded it on the chief's wagon, and insisted it be accepted as a gift. His goodwill had been a must for many years to anyone doing business in the Comanche area, even though it was business conducted through the Indian Department.

Somewhere around 3:00 to 3:30 P.M., the Indians began hitching up their teams, loading up their supplies and their families, and heading south. In an hour or so there was not an Indian in town. We could

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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was seventeen years before the outbreak of the Civil War, and predates the Mexican War, the last months of the Republic of Texas, and the admission of Texas into the Union. 701

We know when the end of Comanche independence came—June, 1875. That means Mo-cho-rook was an active Comanche warrior for a period of thirty-two years. That was thirty-two years for raids along the Trinity and the Brazos. Thirty-two years of traversing Texas on expeditions into Old Mexico. Thirty-two years to drive off the Charley Goodnight cattle, and sell them to the Spanish in New Mexico. 701 648

Then don't forget that fairly authentic story that the Comanches, during the Civil War, delivered over ten thousand head of Texas cattle to the Union contractors who were furnishing beef for the Union troops. 439

I think I was a bit apprehensive, as I read John Graves's *Goodbye to a River*, that Graves might meet up with Mo-cho-rook's shade and his canoe trip down the Brazos might end in disaster. 000

NOTE: The records at Anadarko show Mo-cho-rook as Comanche Allottee Number C-2307, his birth year as 1826, and show him to have been a Mexican captive. His allotment was about one mile west and four or five north of the present town of Faxon, Oklahoma. It passed into white hands on his death. Casual inquiry brings no information on either his wife or his child. Both did survive him. 127 768

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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WHISKEY NIGHTS

439 ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

177 [181] [273] At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

[157] 273 Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

[435] 262 435 511 The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour, four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the prisoners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was distributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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452 Soon I came to a slip with a mistake of a dollar in the Indian's favor.
797 It was my mother's writing. The Indian had brought back a pair of girl's shoes, taken another pair that cost more, and also bought supplies —groceries and dry goods. I called the preacher's attention to the mistake, and he agreed. "Yes, it should be a dollar more." And he wrote it down that way. When he totaled the entries, the amount was exactly a dollar more than the amount I had given him.

During the auditing of the slips, both the minister and the Indian had remained grave and distant. The atmosphere wasn't friendly. Maybe they were embarrassed. I was. I was only in my fifteenth year, though I was operating in an adult sphere. My head was only a fifteen year-old head, and the same went for my experience. It was the first time anyone had seen fit to check our bookkeeping. In a way, I was feeling accused.

But when the preacher explained to Wer-que-yah, in the Comanche tongue, that our bookkeeping was honest, there was a bit of a lilt to the missionary's voice. And now the Indian was all smiles. As we arose from the ground, he exclaimed, "Wano! Wano!" a number of times and patted my back vigorously.

Then it was Reverend Deyo's turn. He extended his hand, saying, "I want to thank you for dealing with *my people* honestly. I checked your prices. I already knew you sell to the Indian and the white man at the same price. I shall tell *my people* you deal honestly. Not all merchants treat uneducated Indians fairly."

439 This incident may have accounted for some of our success as in-
452 dependent Indian traders. We, in turn, had to depend entirely upon
[672] the honesty of the Indian. He could neither be sued, nor could a judgment be levied against him.

000 Several years ago, two of my nephews were living with me and attending the university. One popular song you heard each time you tuned in on a radio program was "Don't Take Your Guns to Town, Son!" It was a plea of a mother to her son, just approaching young manhood, not to go to town armed, lest some gunman might see an easy way to get another notch on his gun and kill her offspring.

609 I told the boys I had once received much the same advice from an
452 old Indian from whom I tried to borrow a gun while I was badly scared. It was Wer-que-yah. It happened during another Grass Money payment at the same Cache reservation. This time Wer-que-yah's

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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Oklahoma

little territorial bank in Cache. His building, which was about sixteen by twenty feet, was divided about half and half by a counter, with a sort of iron wickerwork, or grill, extending above the counter. I couldn't see anyone chasing me, but for all I knew the marshals could have beaten me to town.

I never slacked speed till I reached the bank door. I had never been inside before, but I lit running. Through the door, I began clawing money out of my pockets with both hands and shoving it through the wicker. I didn't know but what the marshals might follow me inside the bank. I told the banker who I was, the reason for my haste, and that I wanted to deposit the money. He had heard something of the ways of the guards at the reservation, and he congratulated me on my escape.

Looking back, remembering the humor I was in, how badly I was scared, I feel that had this wise Indian let me have his revolver, I would have stuck it in the waistband of my pants and, cocky as a rooster, tried to ride out the reservation gate. I knew I had broken no law.

If my guess was right, and if this guard and his partner were waiting for me, I was scared enough to try to use the gun. Someone would have been shot, and it probably would have been me. The marshals were experienced officers. Always their excuse was that they had seen the collector gambling with the Indians or selling whiskey.

These subsidized marshals always operated on Indian land, it seemed; and the only recourse was in United States Court—an expensive and long-drawn-out procedure. The collector was never arrested—just relieved of his money, whipped, and ordered off the reservation. We collectors wondered why we never heard of a whiskey peddler being pistol-whipped and having his stock and money taken from him.

Whiskey peddlers never showed till dark, and I'm sure the way out I was shown was the ingress and egress of more than one bootlegger. Already, there was a worn path.

We were quite aware that a guard was necessary on the reservation while the payment was in progress and for as long as any considerable number of Indians remained camped there. Otherwise, bootleggers and gamblers would have overrun the place. Every sizable post oak tree would have had a blackjack dealer's blanket spread under it.

But there were laws governing these practices. Collecting legitimate debts was a different proposition. This restriction was an idea of the licensed trader. It would have taken the army to have stopped

this Comanche case resemble, however, the geometric painted designs of the Cheyenne more closely than those of the Upper Missouri tribes."[13]

Comanche Beaded Pouch Plate 19

Berlandier termed a beaded pouch of unusual shape in his collection a Comanche "game bag." It appears as Plate 19.[A] William Bollaert, however, pictured a pouch of nearly identical size and shape among the articles taken from the Comanche who attacked Corpus Christi in June 1844. (See Figure 18, upper left.)[B] Perhaps this pouch served for holding medicines or valuable war equipment. The soft skin pouch is 29 cm. wide at the top, and each of the two finger-like projections provides a pocket 25 cm. deep. A series of buckskin tiestrings serves both to hold together the front and back pieces of skin forming the pouch and to provide a decorative fringe. Virtually the entire front of the case is decorated with beadwork in the large or "pony bead" size. The border and two equal-armed crosses are in white, the background in blue beads. The edge of the top flap is decorated with fringe. The beads on this flap are applied in the lazy stitch in three bands: the lower and upper bands are of white and blue "pony beads" while the center band is of the much smaller "seed beads" in white and red.

We know that Spanish officials presented beads to the Indians of Texas during the 18th century and that Dr. Sibley reported Comanche fondness for blue beads in 1807, but this may be one of the earliest examples of Comanche beadwork that has been preserved.[14]

Feathered Headdress Figure 29

A very handsome headdress of a Comanche man is pictured in Figure 29. In form and construction it differs markedly from the more familiar feathered bonnet with beaded browband worn by the Comanche and Indians of many other tribes on dress occasions within the Reservation Period—the headdress that has become the widely recognized symbol of the North American Indian.

This headdress has two major parts, a cap and a trailer of feathers. The cap is fashioned of two pieces of soft-dressed skin of equal size, one forming each side, sewn together with sinew along the vertical midline of the back. It is made to cover the sides, back, and top of the wearer's head but does not extend as far forward as his brow. The lower borders extend to points at the front of each side. The upper part of the cap is covered with red trade cloth, and this, in turn, is decorated with a band of beadwork passing over the top

13. Wissler (1910, pp. 77–78) pictures a side-fringed rawhide case from the Blackfoot and mentions similar cases from the Sarsi, Gros Ventres, Arapaho, and tribes of the Northwestern Plateau in the collections of the American Museum of Natural History.

14. On May 20, 1770, De Mézières requested "two arrobas of beads, white, blue and red" for presents to the chiefs of the Comanche and neighboring tribes, and in 1779 listed 54 pounds of glass beads received for the same purpose. (Bolton, 1914, vol. 2, pp. 201–02, 244.) Dr. Sibley found that the Comanche in 1807 were indifferent to many articles of trade desired by other tribes: "Blue & Red Stroud, Vermillion, Blankets, Blue Beads & knives, are almost the only Articles they Seem Anxious to obtain." (Sibley, 1922, p. 81.)

A [See p. 180—C—Analyst.]
B [See p. 169—Analyst.]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 180]